1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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[Rii] [FronTisPiece]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

Taiwanese villages are laid out in three basic patterns. Probably the most common is the nucleated or compact type: the dwellings form a compact cluster which is surrounded by the arable land of the village. The second is linear, laid out along a riverbank or road, and the third, the least common, is the scattered settlement whose houses are spaced out over a larger area, which sometimes makes it difficult to determine the exact boundary of the village. Hsin Hsing, like most of the villages in the area, is a compact cluster of dwellings surrounded by farmlands. One can walk completely around the central cluster in about fifteen minutes.

The dwelling cluster is bounded on the southwest by the Anlen dirt road which connects Lukang with the market town of Chi Hu (all of the villages in this immediate area lie on one or the other or both sides of this road) and on the northeast by an irrigation drainage stream which flows into the sea near Lukang. There are two villages quite close to Hsin Hsing. Lo Ts'e (now incorporated into Yung P'ing village) is along the road about three hundred yards to the northwest, and Ta Yu lies along the same road about eight hundred yards to the southwest. Like all the neighboring settlements, both are separated from Hsin Hsing by fields.

There are a few fields lying within the dwelling area itself. These are small, mainly garden plots, and are mostly on the outskirts rather than within the village. Hsin Hsing villagers own the fields across the road from the village as well as those between Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages of Ta Yu and Lo Ts'e, but most of the fields operated by the villagers—either as owners or tenants—are usually not so conveniently located. Many lie to the west on the other side of the road and as much as two or three miles away. Some can be reached only by dirt roads and by narrow paths between the fields. The villagers ride their bicycles as far as they can and walk the rest of the way, often carrying heavy farm implements. A boy might go along leading or riding a water buffalo.

Village agriculture is focused primarily on wet-rice cultivation. Hsin Hsing village is located in one of the principal agricultural areas of the island, the long flat west-central coastal plain. With the Strait of Formosa to the west and the interior mountains to the east of the area, there is a natural flow of water from the mountains to the lower lands and finally to the sea. The usually plentiful water supply is harnessed by an intricate network of irrigation systems which consist of rivers, dams, pumping stations—both publicly and privately operated—and artificial waterways and ditches which eventually carry water into the maze of fields.

The area is subject to great seasonal variation in both temperature and precipitation. Although it lies in the semitropical zone—being

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

just north of the Tropic of Cancer—the winters of this coastal area, unlike the interior, are cold and raw while the summers are extremely hot and humid. Winter temperatures seldom fall below the middle forties, but icy winds frequently blow with almost gale force across from the mainland and the Strait of Formosa. Although the area itself never has snow, on a clear January or February day snow-capped peaks of the high interior mountains to the east can be seen from the village.

As in most of Asia, rain is seasonal. Between 80 and 85 percent of the annual rainfall comes during the late spring and summer months (April to September) (Chen, 1950:5).[1] During the heaviest rains and the late summer typhoon season, roads as well as paddy fields are often flooded. In this particular area, frequently the rain alone makes it possible to transplant the rice seedlings, for the irrigation water is often late in reaching the Hsin Hsing area, lying as it does so far from the mountain headwaters. With the passing of the rainy season the weather is relatively dry for the remainder of the year, and all crops depend almost entirely on water from the elaborate irrigation system.

For two decades or more this area has been able to harvest three crops annually. In the irrigated areas two crops of rice are grown; sometimes a vegetable or some other crop is substituted. The third dry crop is usually wheat or sweet potatoes. On dry land, two or possibly three crops a year are grown as well. Such intensive cultivation has been made possible through a favorable climate, irrigation facilities, and an increased availability of chemical fertilizer. It has also come about partially as a result of the population increase, which has provided additional labor to work the available land and to exploit previously undeveloped lands.

Although most of the original inhabitants from the mainland settled on the relatively fertile coastal plain where Hsin Hsing is located, the land resources could not be fully exploited because of their small number. Today, this situation is reversed, and in spite of large-scale irrigation, land scarcity makes it necessary for parts of expanding families, and even whole households, to move to urban centers to find work. Land scarcity in the whole Hsin Hsing area is so severe that even villagers who remain there must go outside the village to earn a livelihood for their families or to supplement the family income. Although the problem may be unusually acute in Hsin Hsing village and in some neighboring villages, it must nevertheless be recognized that it is characteristic of a large part of Taiwan. If the population of the rural areas of the island continues to grow at its present rate, the land scarcity which is now so severe in the Hsin Hsing area will undoubtedly become a major problem for the greater part of the Taiwan countryside.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

Hsin Hsing also has a number of very small family groupings; some are composed of several recently divided families and several are unrelated family units. Most of these have been unable to expand significantly and so have little effective organization or influence in village affairs. Some of these try to ally with a *tsu* organization whenever possible. This is especially true if they happen to bear the same surname as a village *tsu* but do not trace a common ancestor with it; under such circumstances they may even attempt to identify with and participate in some of the *tsu's* secular activities.

The latter means of attempting to relate to others forms the basis for still another kind of relationship found in Taiwan as well as on much of mainland China—a relationship formed by people who bear the same surname and with whom an original ancestor, often mythical, can be assumed but not actually demonstrated. In the Hsin Hsing area the relationships between such people do not carry any specific kinship terminology, except in so far as one might use a fictive kinship term to address another person who is older or of higher status. (But this would be strictly out of courtesy, and such kinship courtesy terms can be and often are used to show respect for any older villager.) All the people who bear the same surname but are not members of the same *tsu* are, however, lumped together under the heading *ch'in t'ang* (meaning relatives of the ancestral hall). All of these people therefore can be said to comprise what can be considered the largest exogamous unilateral group, which gives all of them at least the potential basis for the formation of a clan organization.

Still another kind of grouping of relatives are matrilateral, affinal relatives, or other people who recognize a relationship as a result of the adoption of a girl between their families. All of these people refer to each other as *ch'in ch'i*, literally meaning "relatives." Matrilateral and affinal relatives also have kinship terminology applied to them, but such words are always prefixed by a term indicating that the relationship is through a mother or wife and thus applied to an outside relative. However, the use of kinship terms for these relatives, especially for affinal female descendants, is not extended either vertically or horizontally as far as it is with patrilineal relatives. Therefore, neither mother's sister's children nor wife's sister's children have kinship terms applied to them; they are simply *ch'in ch'i*.

Of all the Hsin Hsing families, most of which are the conjugal type, about 81 percent bear one of four surnames—Huang, Shih, K'ang, or Shen—which in one way or another make up the several significant village *tsu*. The other 19 percent carry eight other surnames. Generally speaking, all family groupings which have the same surname and trace some degree of kinship through a common ancestor tend to live close

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

61 551 361 618 614 361 [342]

together—in a compound or in several houses in close proximity; they are also usually in the same *lin*. (See Chapter 5 for a complete discussion of kinship patterns in the village.) For example, most of the Huangs live in a single very large house, the Shens occupy several separate houses which form a sort of compound, and the Shihs live in adjacent houses. However, not all of the village's K'ang families came into the village at the same time or trace their descent through a common ancestor, nor do all of the Shih families, nor all of the Huangs. The lack of a common demonstrated ancestor and therefore of a *tsu* relationship on the part of some families with the same surname is also evidenced by their separate locations in the village as can be seen with the several K'ang family groups and the two Shih family lines. The village map shows the tendency of related families to cluster together as closely as possible.

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The houses of the villagers, at least the original sections built, are of one basic type; they vary mainly in size. The basic structure is a single length of rooms, with the ancestral-worship room in the center, flanked by one or two rooms on either end which are used for sleeping and cooking. Many houses in the village have been enlarged by the addition of wings which give the dwelling an L or U shape, but most of them were originally built according to the basic plan.

When a family increases, as when it is extended through the marriage of sons, the house is usually enlarged. As the family continues to increase, more and more wings are added when finances permit. Sometimes these wings are added in a fairly orderly way, and sometimes they are added in such a random fashion as to make the house a kind [592] of maze. Each household or nuclear family then has its own apartment in the large house. However, there are only three houses in Hsin Hsing which have been enlarged in this manner. (See Figures 1 and 2 for diagrams of enlarged houses.)

342 621

Other families tend to build new houses near the original family house rather than add wings. Over the years, each of these individual houses is expanded to fit the new housing needs of the growing family. Interspersed throughout the village are the smaller houses of families which are either made up of very small groups or are completely unrelated to any other family in the village.

621 575

However, relationships between village families cross kinship and even village lines. For example, several kinds of associations draw unrelated village families together: a Mother-Father Association which aids member families at the time of a death; sworn brother groups; moneylending societies; a Farmers' Association village membership unit; small local cooperative pumping station associations and an area Water Conservation Association for maintaining irrigation systems; and a Mother-Sister Association (somewhat similar to a Parent-

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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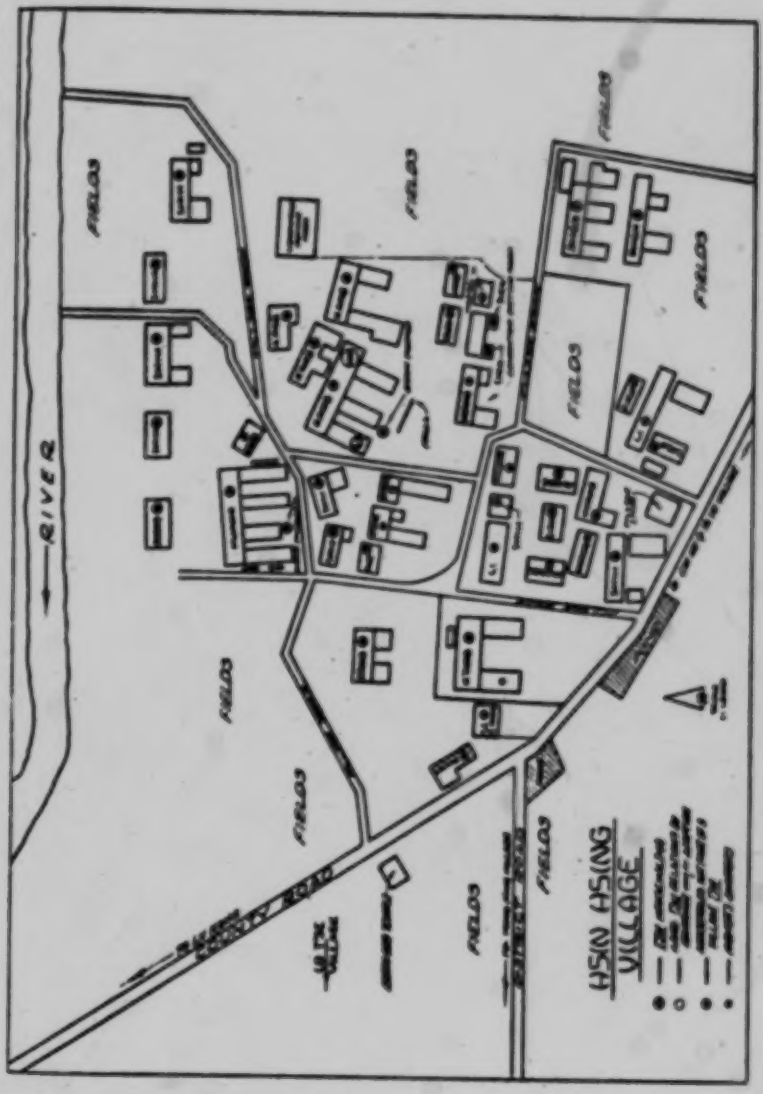

Map 2. Hsin Hsing village.

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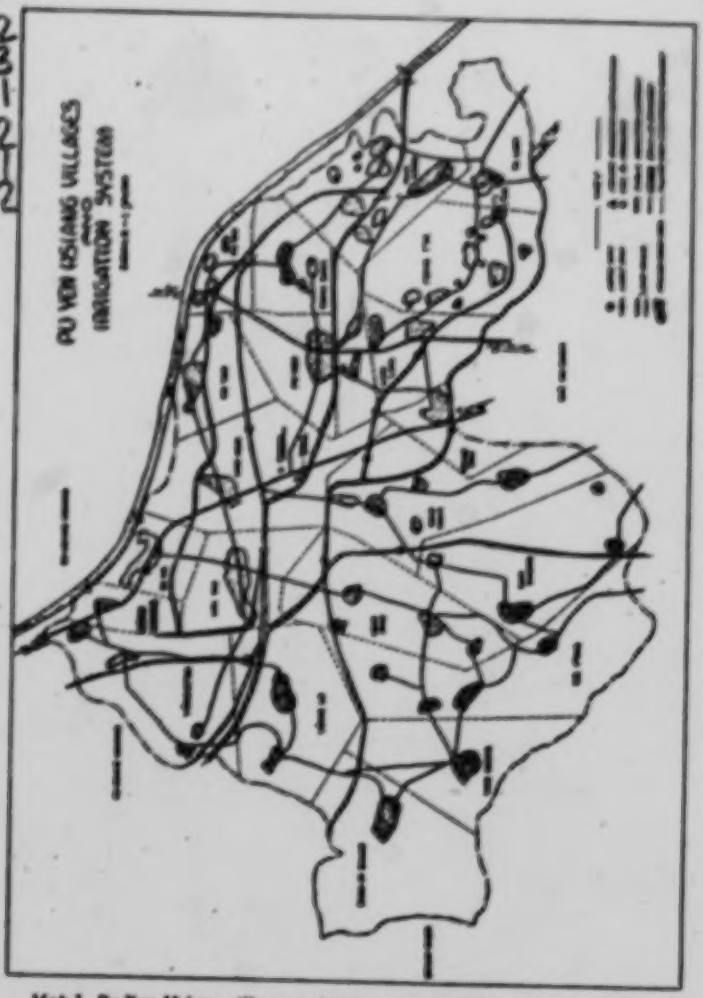

Map 3. Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system. Source: Pu Yen Water Conservation Working Office.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.100]

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Map 4. Land tenure map for Hsin Hsing village. Data from Lukang Land Office and Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office Land Section. Data as of 1957 except for land tenancy, which is as of August, 1958.

36 Beyond the Tu Ti Kung temple at the end of the arcade, the path to Hsichichou turns sharply to the right, narrows into a crooked little alley, and then suddenly opens out to the lush green countryside. From here one can see most of the district of Chichou. In the immediate foreground is a cluster of red brick houses which make up the village of Shalun; behind these are the green tile roofs of the Japanese built elementary school and police station; to the right is another cluster of poorer homes belonging to the village of Pantzupu; and in the distant foreground under a great tree is a small Tu Ti Kung temple behind which one can make out the roofs of Hsiachicou among the thickly leaved trees. After the cluttered dirty streets of the town, the scene is one 341 of remarkable beauty. The carefully patterned paddy fields create a 342 framework of order and coherence; the graceful concave roofs of the red brick farm houses bring life to the mass of green; and in the background the massive prominence of the central mountain range gives the whole vista a sense of dignity and proportion.

342 As an introduction to life in Hsiachichou no aspect of the village is more revealing than the village houses. Embodied in the design of the houses and the living arrangements of their inhabitants are the essential dimensions of village life. As the variety of building materials reveals, the typical village house is an aggregate of structures dating from various periods. In most cases the original structure is a long rectangular building partitioned into five parallel rooms. Almost without exception, the central room is the largest room in the house, and is entered by way of heavy double-leafed doors which face

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
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chapter 1

THE CITY AND THE MARKET TOWN

Taiwan is a beautiful green island, 240 miles long and 88 miles wide. 13
On the east coast the mountains rise straight from the sea to over
13,000 feet. Stretches of the one-lane highway connecting north and [491]
south are literally carved out of cliffs that hang above the Pacific. The
mountains, a steep, tangled mass of rich tropical foliage and giant
trees, appear uninhabitable and uninhabited, but the remnants of nine
different aborigine groups somehow manage a living on their precipi-
tous slopes. In the west the mountains descend less dramatically onto
a fertile plain that extends to the sea. It is on the rich, alluvial soils of
this plain that the majority of the twelve million Chinese inhabitants
make their home. Nearly every tillable foot of land is sectioned and
under cultivation. In the north, where the dry season is limited to a
few weeks in the fall, the land is a patchwork of neatly squared and
banked rice paddies. On a sunny day the intensity of the green in a
paddy of young growing rice plants is almost painful; even on the dull,
humid days of summer the green seems to rise in the steaming air,
distorting colors into complements. Farther south, where the dry season
is longer, the color is more subdued, both because wet paddy farming
is less common and because the foliage is not washed by a daily rain.

The capital of Taiwan, Taipei, sits in a damp basin on the northern 633
tip of the plain. People who have lived in Peiping and Nanking say it [361].
is an ugly city, lacking the beauty of cities on the Chinese mainland
but retaining all their faults. Since much of its growth took place

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

Since much of its growth took place
633 during the fifty-odd years of Japanese administration, Taipei is
341 weighted down with ugly though solid Japanese colonial architecture,
177 studious imitations of public buildings in the British colonies. Current shoddy attempts at sinification make them even less attractive. In some of the more expensive residential neighborhoods there are still beautiful examples of Japanese domestic architecture hidden behind
633 high brick walls. These residential streets, many of them unpaved and
363 all bordered by open sewer ditches, are peaceful, the quiet disturbed
[463] only by an occasional car, a squeaking pedi-cab, and the varied, melodic calls of passing peddlers, knife-sharpeners, and shoe-repairers. At night the soft clack-clack of the blind masseur's bamboo rattle is as natural as a bird's song.

The streets in the business section of the city are anything but peaceful. The great clattering, rattling buses seem to have no springs and no speed limits; automobiles, mainly in the form of taxis or military jeeps, use horns more frequently than brakes. Sidewalks and roadways alike are clogged with bicycles, pedi-cabs, and pedestrians who reverse direction, cut across traffic, or come to a complete halt without warning or apparent reason. Cartloads of bricks and logs drawn by sweating, straining men or ambling yellow oxen use the same lanes as buses hurtling forward at forty miles an hour.

633 Beyond the hustling downtown districts that sell the essential
• 361 luxuries to the wealthy are the Taiwanese sections of the city, areas of
369 commerce and residence, often combined, that seem both flimsy and timeless. There is architecture here too, but it would take a coldly disciplined observer to look above the busy life in the shops and the streets to evaluate the style of the buildings. Here is the real texture of a Chinese city. There is poverty, but not the thin, sour smell of
633 poverty in American cities. Tiny shops sell cheap, shoddy cotton
444 goods, coarse household basketry, and thin metal pots and pans. The
[354] owners' wives squat in front, fanning portable stoves of clay and coal
[242] dust, cooking the evening meal of vegetables and pork fat or, depending upon the day's business, only vegetables. Customers step over and
[954] around the children sleeping or playing amid the merchandise and on
[855] the sidewalks; they bargain with the shopkeeper's wife while the baby tied on her back sleeps peacefully through their rising and falling
633 voices. Few cars attempt the narrow lanes but pedi-cabs and bicycles
[363] thread in and around the pedestrians with a grace and speed that often ends in a squealing of brakes and shouted oaths. In the few arcades or

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3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

The City and the Market Town

In the few arcades streets closed to automobiles in the United States and England, one is conscious of the sound of feet on concrete, but in Taipei, even though the wooden clogs of the poor make much more noise than Western leather, one is conscious of voices. Children cry, women gossip, storekeepers greet friends and customers, peddlers inform passers-by of the quality and freshness of their wares, pedi-cab drivers shout warnings to pedestrians about to step in front of them, neighbors discuss the bargains they've found, and not infrequently family quarrels are presented for the world to judge. Winter or summer, day or night, there is always the smell of smoke—coal smoke, charcoal smoke, fuel oil. Often it is delicately embroidered with a thread of incense coming from a family altar in the back of a store or from a small temple tucked down a side alley. The air is heavy with smells, not just smoke, but the oily smells of cooking, the salty smell of drying fish, the sharp tang of pickled vegetables, the elegant smell of sandalwood being fashioned into boxes and furnishings for the rich, and always somewhere in every neighborhood the smell of the "honey-wagon," a slow moving tank cart that goes from house to house to collect "night-soil."

In 1957 my husband and I arrived in Taipei and spent the better part of a year there, studying Mandarin. The following year, the majority of which I was forced to spend in the United States because of the illnesses of my parents, my husband searched the island for a suitable village in which to carry out the anthropological field project that had brought him to Taiwan. I returned not to the noisy, jostling city but to a small, quiet village on the banks of the Tamsui River. In its way of life, Peihotien was far from Taipei; in miles, the distance was not great. With luck and a feeling of urgency, the trip from the Taipei train station to our doorstep could be made in an hour, half by train and half by foot. The train rumbled through Taipei suburbs, a small city, a couple of small market towns, and much open paddy land before it dropped us in the market town of Tapu. Tapu is the buying, selling, repairing, and general servicing town for a number of villages, including the one in which I was to live.

The Tapu train station opens onto a little square; the square in turn opens onto the main street of the town. I have never seen the square completely empty, not even in the heavy rains that break the heat of summer afternoons. There is a man who sells hot noodles from a little cart, another with fresh fruit, another with newspapers and gaudy magazines.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

Across the square a narrow, unpaved alley twists past a coffin shop, smelling incongruously fresh and spring-like from the fragrant sandalwood; it makes another turn at the legless fortune teller's shop, passes a few houses, and abruptly disappears in the open, shimmering rice paddies.

361 • 444 [764] [787]

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 2

THE VILLAGE

361 13 Passing out of the narrow lane into the open countryside is like passing through the gates of a walled city. The backs of the tall, windowless brick houses form a solid barrier between the noise of the town and the stillness of the country. The shouts of street hawkers and the loud inquiries of customers are softened to a murmur. The senses are now more impressed by what is seen than by what is heard. In the distance the mountains limit the eyes' sweep. Even the thick anarchy of ferns and trees and vines does not relieve their harsh, jagged lines. But, on a hot day, as the humidity builds up, the mountains recede, become vague and indistinct, the misty impressions of an old Chinese scroll. An uneven line of shrubs and trees, darker in color, more precise in outline, seems to be at the base of the mountains but actually is several miles closer, hugging the damp banks of the Tamsui River, sheltering the village of Peihotien. This area on which Tapu turns its back is known as Hotien.

596 601 173 613 175 Although there are now many surnames represented in Hotien, the district was originally settled by the Lim family. The Chinese record the births, marriages, and deaths of their male progeny in genealogies, thus providing a skeletal history of their lineage. To them, the important part of the document is the long family tree which traces their line of descent back through many centuries, but in most genealogies there is also a short essay describing the family's place of origin, the location of the clan temple that houses the memorial tablets of more distant ancestors, and perhaps even some sketches of the temple itself. 124 It is from a document of this kind and from rambling conversations 173 with the elderly men and women of Peihotien that I obtained the 126 175

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

776 death, and marriage. In Tapu, Tu Ti Kung is the patron of the business establishments in his neighborhood. In Peihotien, he watches over the village farmers.

• 361 Peihotien is by far the most attractive of the villages of Hotien. 178 The others have become dusty tangles of buildings in a maze of [161] narrow paths. Unwilling to give up the precious paddy land for anything so unprofitable as living space, the growing population has built new wings and even new houses in courtyards and passageways, destroying trees and shrubs that once gave grace to their setting. Few houses enjoy the filtered shade of old trees, and the scraggly bushes scattered among them are so frequently attacked by animals and children that their life expectancy is short. Peihotien's site on the bank of 361 13 the Tamsui is, by comparison, luxuriant in large healthy trees and a variety of smaller greenery. In the days when the area was settled, long before modern truck farming, the thin, sandy soil appeared useless, fit only for building sites, kitchen gardens, and drying grounds. [161] Peihotien has grown as rapidly as its neighbors, but there is still an [249] unusual amount of space between houses. Several families make use of it by maintaining bamboo groves, adding tender bamboo shoots to their diet and another source of shade and texture to their landscape. Even in the dry days after the rice harvest when hot winds carry the dust from the drained paddies high into the air, Peihotien seems more protected, cooler, cleaner. From a distance the other villages of Hotien can readily be identified for what they are, but Peihotien is a pleasant uncertainty, a clump of dark green foliage with a suggestion of rose brick and a glimpse of the soaring lines of a rich tile roof.

178 Before 1920, when the railroad was laid through Tapu, Pei-
621 hotien's location on the Tamsui River had more than aesthetic value.
505 The river, as a major thoroughfare, was important to the economy of
433 the village. Two or three families supplemented their farm income by poling ferries across the river and several village men supported their families by transporting goods between the remote villages and Taipei. Peihotien was an agricultural village, but its farmers depended upon the river to tide them over when crops failed or families became too large. The advent of the railroad with its faster, more com-
178 621 433 48 fortable transportation soon ended river travel and the advantage of Peihotien's position beside it. Before long the railroad took the river's place in the village's economy, and then some. It was less than a half hour's walk from Peihotien to the railway station in Tapu and only a few more minutes by train to the factories in other cities.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Not all of the people in Peihotien have seen ghosts and certainly not all of them believe in ghosts, but there is not a perfect correlation between a man's belief in ghosts and his level of sophistication in other matters. One of my favorite scoffers in the village is a no-nonsense woman about fifty years old. After listening to some men tell me about the habits of ghosts, she laughed and told me what she thought about ghosts. "I'm always walking around at night and I've never once seen a ghost. When I used to gamble, I wandered around even more at night. I would go all the way to Nanhotien to gamble, come back at midnight for more money, and walk all the way back again. I never met a ghost or even worried about one. Remember where old Ong hung himself on that tree behind their house? Just a few days after his suicide we were gambling at Tan's house. A policeman came and we all had to run and the only way was under that tree. None of us held back. If there was a ghost there, it would been trampled to death we were running so fast. When you are gambling you aren't afraid of the King of Hell. How could you be afraid of a ghost?"

Considering the affinity of ghosts for isolated spots, it seems unlikely that many could stick it out for long in Peihotien. There is very little land within the village that isn't tamed by houses or pig pens or kitchen gardens. Unused land is more or less public property and is crossed and recrossed by dozens of people each day. The square directly behind the house in which we lived is a good example. It is flanked on three sides by houses and on the fourth by the main path through the village. A family who supplements their income by making noodles has set up stretching racks in one corner. Years of use has made the surface of the square as hard and smooth as concrete, ideal for a drying ground. During certain seasons its entire upper half is carpeted with fat rice grains which are turned every few hours for uniform drying. Since the square is public, the families who use it must keep a child stationed there to drive off stray chickens and ducks. Two or three times each summer traveling medicine peddlers set up their make-shift stages in the square, give free performances, and then try to sell their wares to the crowds they attract. Sometimes their acts are elaborated by costumes and a squawking loudspeaker; more often they are simple, lighted by a single electric globe rented from one of the families on the square. During the day a peddler may cycle into the village and spread out his merchandise in the square. The women often do not buy anything and leave the poor peddler to fold his goods back into his box and pedal off to the next village.

133 The Hsin Tien river runs through Hsin Tien on its way past Taipei to its mouth at the northern end of the island.

491 From Hsin Tien to Sanlei, one must travel on a
494 small rickety local bus a distance of another 2-1/2 miles on a road which meanders, generally in a southwest direction. About half way to the village the blacktop two-lane road narrows to one lane. When two vehicles meet, there is usually an argument about which one will back up to one of the various wider places in the road to let the
133 other pass. There is a small creek which parallels the road for most of the distance to Hsin Tien. About half-way to the village, two lines of foothills can be seen in the distance slowly converging on the road until they meet
491 rather abruptly at Wulei, two villages beyond Sanlei. In
494 Wulei, the road ends with a "turn around" where the bus
133 starts its trip back to Hsin Tien. In Sanlei, the foothills are only about 200 yards apart but even then, the narrow valley is terraced. At its lowest point, next to the river, the village elevation is about forty feet with the foothills rapidly rising to peaks with an elevation of over 800 feet.

361 Settlements in the area are primarily nucleated, a compact collection of houses surrounded by their fields with only a few scattered individual households. The nucleated settlements range in size from 8 or 10 houses to large villages with over 200. The larger villages are all

361 near the road and stream while the smallest units are up
361 in the mountains. The bus stops at each village and also
494 at several places on the road where narrow paths lead to other villages not on the road. The village centers are not far apart, for the most part ranging from 200 to 350 yards.

Upon reaching Sanlei the bus stops just beyond the center of the village in front of the temple (see Figure 2). It had stopped in the previous village of Erhlei about 250 yards back and also at a spot about half way between the two villages where a path leads up the mountain to a small village. After leaving Sanlei, it is 300 yards to Szulei and another 250 yards to Wulei, the end of the bus line.

494 The bus does not keep its schedule of nine trips per day due to frequent breakdowns. Since it takes about twelve minutes to go from Sanlei to the end of the line and back, villagers rarely prepare to go to town until the bus has passed. The twelve minutes between the time the bus passes on its way to Wulei and its return in the direction of town are often witness to much confusion and scrambling in the village by prospective passengers for the bus driver rarely stops unless the passenger is at the labeled bus stop.

162 Sixty-six households containing 409 people comprise
[161] Sanlei village. Talei, the li of which Sanlei is a part,
[621] (TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46
contains 248 households, about 1550 people.[1]

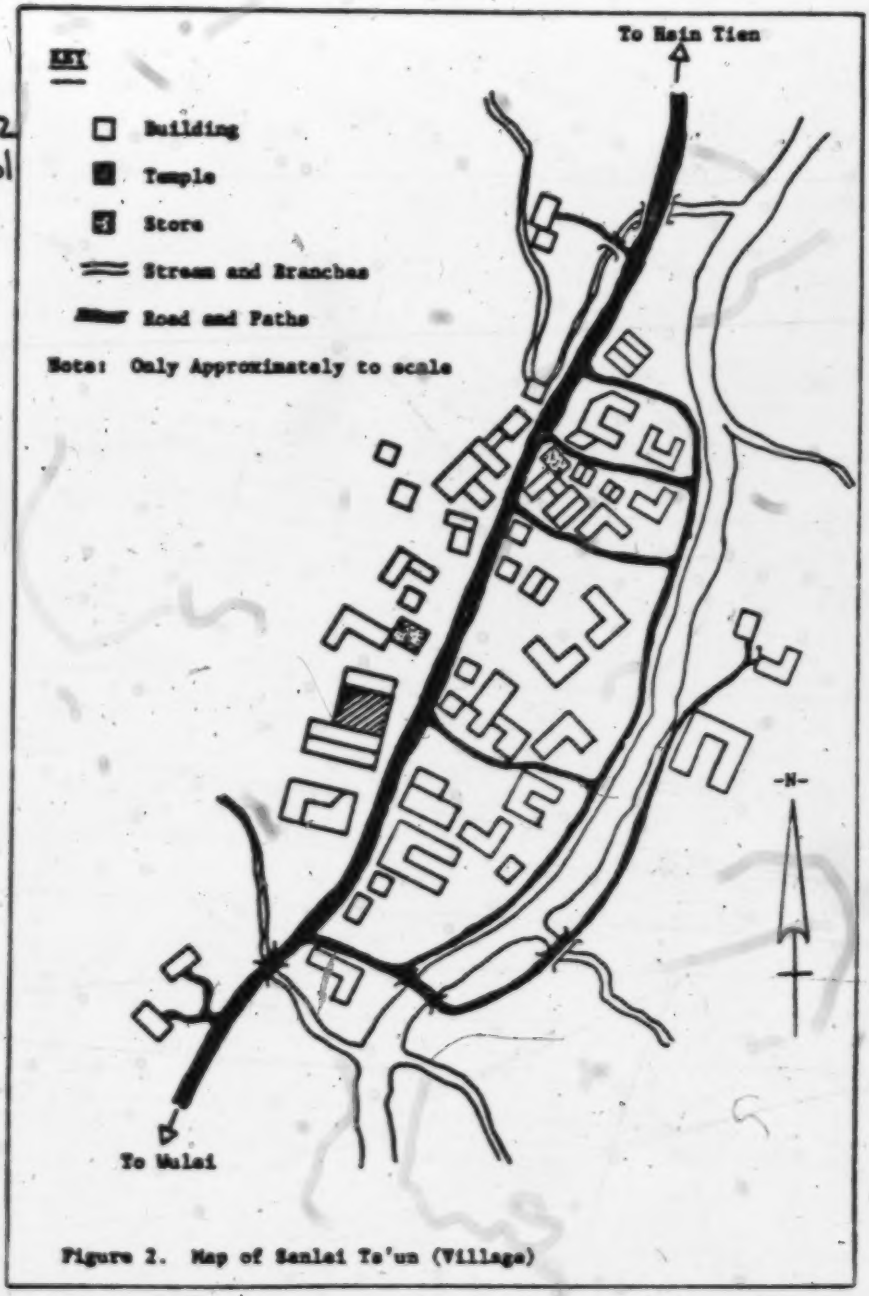

Figure 2. Map of Sanlei Ts'un (Village)

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

000 contains 248 households, about 1550 people.[1] Sanlei vil-
• 361 lage is long and narrow. To the right is a single line of houses following the road with the first and last two separated from the remaining houses which are very close together. On the left, the distance from the road to the creek ranges from 50 to 125 feet. The majority of village buildings are in this area, many fronting on the road, others on one of the five paths from road to creek, and the rest on the courtyard in front of the temple. Three buildings are located across the creek (see Figure 2).

Weather

132 Taiwan lies off the east coast of Asia athwart the Tropic of Cancer and is surrounded by warm ocean currents. The northern and summer monsoons influence the weather although all weather is conspicuously modified by Taiwan's rugged topography (Cressey, 1955:238). The north is subtropical and the south, tropical. In the north, winters are cold but rarely does the temperature extend below 40° F. Summers are long and hot, but the temperature reaches 95° F infrequently in the village. Most nights are cool due to the ever present winds. Humidity is nearly always high. Taiwan is in the prime typhoon belt and about three typhoons a year usually pass directly over some part of the island and many others pass nearby. Typhoons dump copious quantities of rain and the winds often cause extensive damages.

311 natural vegetation and forestation but much is being developed. A considerable quantity of the mountain land in [423] Sanlei and also outside village boundaries is owned by the government. Some has been purchased by villagers for the 427 government is encouraging its development. Prior to 1962, 435 it was leased by the government for 25% of the main crop but now, rent is fixed and reasonable, on long-term leases 435 at $380.00 per chia per year. The current price of mountain land is about $20,000.00 per chia if undeveloped and ranging up to $100,000.00 per chia if planted with excellent crops such as mature fruit trees.

361 311 The remaining categories are important but not economically significant. Houseland land is that on which the house is built but also includes the very small vegetable gardens adjacent to the houses. Vegetable gardens are located near the house so as to be convenient for the deposit of night soil. Burial land takes up a considerable part of the community. As previously stated, this area has many good feng shui locations, most of them on steep slopes. Other types of land categories include temple, roads, and worthless plots.

423 The vast majority of the land in Sanlei remains either owner-cultivated or leased from the government. Moreover, the owner-cultivators tend to live in Sanlei or 427 an adjacent village. Some tenants are renting from a fellow villager as illustrated by the neighbor who leases

182 relationships in China are hierarchically structured, i.e.,
515 landlord over tenant, elder over younger, father over son,
573 etc., sworn brothers associations are a collectivity of equals. Even where there are great differences in status, the differences are relatively buried for interpersonal relationships, especially at association meetings. Since it would probably be impossible to bury a father-son or older brother-younger brother status difference, these two types of relationships are never encompassed within a single sworn brothers association.

Because of these various reasons, manifest and latent, almost every man belongs to a sworn brothers association but no man belongs to two. Fewer men belong to god's associations which are not exclusive, i.e., a man may belong to more than one (most members of a single god's association also belong to a sworn brothers association). Indeed, one politician in Hsin Tien belongs to six god's associations including both of those centered in Sanlei Ts'un.

Neighborhood

• 361 The village is informally divided into three neighborhoods although the physical boundaries separating them are but minor barriers. One barrier results from the fact the village slopes up a hill while a small mountain runs down towards the village at right angles to the slope. A very small brook (18" wide) runs down the mountain towards the village as if it were going to bisect

361 it but, near the center of the village, turns and runs
[296] down the village slope. At the turn-about spot, a con-
crete pond (five feet by ten feet by eight inches) was
[312] built for convenience in washing clothes. From the pond
on down the slope, village houses could pipe water into
their houses by gravity feed from the brook by means of
rubber hoses, but from the pond up the slope, it was
necessary to carry water in buckets. This activity gives
a name to two sections of the village: shang shui (above
the water) and sya shui (below the water) although the
dividing line is not clear. The smallest and least
significant neighborhood unit is separated from these two
neighborhoods by the river which runs down the middle of
the valley (See Figure 2).

361 The "above the water" section contains the original
62 village settlement and continues to be the dominant section
in village affairs. Most of its ghia ghang (family heads)
are surnamed Liao and three of the four not surnamed Liao
are related to a Liao: two are related by marriage and the
third is the step-brother diagrammed in Figure 8. Impor-
tant individuals in this section include the Li Ghang
(mayor), representative to the farmers' association, and
the Small Unit Head (local subunit of the farmers'
association). This section also includes the village
temple and the store which has the largest sales in the
village and which is owned by one of the wealthier Liao
families whose head is an informal leader and a member of

• 361 621 the permanent temple committee.

The chia chang in the "below the water" neighborhood possess many different surnames. This area has the second ranking store in terms of sales but it is more modern with the only freezer and one of the two television sets in the village. A higher percentage of its population is engaged in other than agricultural pursuits. This section also includes both the active village tea processors who purchase tea leaves from farmers.

The portion across the river includes two "compounds" (one of which was illustrated in Figure 12) and two isolated households. This neighborhood may best be viewed as a residual category for there did not appear to be any behavior as a collective unit and no competition with the other two neighborhoods which sometimes compete with each other.

For example, the village had an opportunity in 1964 621 653 to establish a central water system which required building 666 a water tower and installing a pump and lines so that each 365 house could have running water. To participate, the village would have to achieve two-thirds approval in an election and raise half the requisite cost locally by the informal process previously described, i.e., by contributions rather than by formal taxation. Residents of the "above the water" neighborhood were naturally in favor of the construction since they did not have any running water. "Across the water" people were neutral, willing

625 night stick, and piece of rope. The patrol for Talei Li usually consists of five men nightly; two men patrol the first half of the night and two others, the last while one man is on duty as a spare in case someone gets sick. He also prepares tea and noodles for snacks. Although only adult males are regular members of the I Ching, the patrol is considered part of each household's responsibility. Therefore, the fifth or spare man is often not a regular member and indeed, may often be a girl representing a household which has no adult males within the appropriate age group. A girl never patrols but she does [562] fix the tea and noodles. In this manner, a girl is seen as almost the equivalent of a male, for although she does not patrol, her activities (all night rather than half the night) mean her household has made a contribution equal to that of one furnishing a man.

Control of crimes is easy to maintain because [36] [49] there is only one road leading through the li towards town and escape over the mountains would be extremely difficult.

625 431 626 Clothes and equipment for the I Ching are purchased from funds contributed by business men and wealthier land owners in the area. Although donations are supposedly voluntary, community pressure is placed on anyone who does not willingly donate his share, i.e., there is a veiled threat that no watch will be kept on property owned by uncooperative men. Each night of work, each

625 435